

# Ecclesiastical vs. Civil Authority.

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God in the Federal Constitution;  
Man and Woman Out.

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A DISCOURSE

BY

PARKER PILLSBURY,

CONCORD, N. H.

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**THIRD EDITION.**

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[Single copy, 10 cents; 12 copies, \$1.]

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PARKER PILLSBURY,

Concord, N. H.

## INTRODUCTION.

The following discourse has been delivered in several of our cities and towns East and West, with good result. It is hoped reading it may prove equally salutary on mind and heart.

That the civil and religious liberty of the country is in greater peril to-day than at any time within the last half century can only be questioned by those who do not discern the signs of the times. The daring conspiracy, led largely by clergymen, to subvert the Republic to a Theocracy more fearful than the world ever saw, has already made such strides, and secured such hold on the unsuspecting mind and heart of the whole church, but more especially of the women of the church associated in their benevolent and philanthropic enterprises, as to render longer silence and inaction a crime.

It is hoped and believed that the startling truths and facts disclosed in the following pages will waken and stir many souls and spirits to such a sense of their danger and duty as that they shall sleep no more till the peril be past, or till death shall have discharged them from earthly labor and responsibility.

P. P.

Concord, N. H., April, 1894.



## ECCLESIASTICAL *vs.* CIVIL AUTHORITY.

The law of the Evolution of life has almost become the faith of the scientific world. And whatever may be said of the Genesis account of creation, the Darwinian philosophy has nothing in it impossible nor absurd under the general operations of nature as we everywhere behold them ; indeed, scarcely differs from Genesis itself.

And all human institutions of government, education, religion, are subject to the same law of growth and unfoldment. Upward and onward is the law or rule irrevocable. Men in their blindness often seek to avert that order, but never with success. Even Jesus, with all his parable and paradox, did not tell the young lawyer that he could return to the womb to be born again. All new birth is from the present, the Now, never from the past. And yet we have in this country a great national association with many state auxiliaries, a self-constituted board of health, whose purpose is to vaccinate the United States constitution with its religion by inserting the names of its God and Bible as a sort of kine-pox to prevent the spread of free thought, scientific inquiry, and investigation. But such attempts to turn back the sun on the dial of human progress must in the end ignominiously fail. For up and forward march, is Nature's more than military command, and onward must be that march from everlasting to everlasting.

From matter in crude gases, slime, and mire, to the first monad, fish, reptile, bird, and beast, and thence to man in lowest form, was myriads of ages. And then to unfold that rude man, and ripen him into a Plato, a Newton, a Franklin, a Washington, demanded we know not how many more myriads of years. Thus have human institutions developed or evolved. To man this world must at first have seemed a waste, howling wilderness. He was victim of storm, tempest, lightning, earthquake ;

flood, fire, pestilence, and famine; forests impenetrable almost, and steaming with malaria, stocked with the wild, ravenous beasts and poisonous serpents: everything in conspiracy against him. And so what could he do but name them all *gods*, and fear them as foes—foes whose favor he must propitiate with all costly sacrifices and worships, services and humiliations!

Out of such beginnings grew governments and religions, institutions, constitutions, creeds and catechisms. Here, too, began human history—twilight of tradition at first, treasured in memory and monument only through multitudes of generations, before printing or penmanship was heard of in dream. Then pictures and rude hieroglyphics were invented, and made to do duty in preserving and transmitting thought and fact. And, out of these, letters evolved, and then printing-press and type, till now we have a registered history of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, as well as of modern empires and nations with their institutions of government, learning, and religion, but all evolving in slow step after step, out of Chaos and old Night.

Religion and worship always follow, never lead, in the growth and unfolding of the human race. Men make their gods more than their gods make them, and it is no satire to say, “An honest god’s the noblest work of man.”

While as a nation and government we held slaves, even bred them for market like colts and cattle, we made a god like ourselves, and held him, not as accomplice, but as principle in all the guilt and shame of slavery, an almighty slave-holder! So, too, as soldiers, we adore a god of battles, butcheries, blood, and destruction. When the church is sovereign, it rules the state. The pulpit is above the throne. The king may be mighty: the pope is almighty. He can enthrone or depose, decree or annul. He can discharge his people from all other authority, and curse them to everlasting fire for resisting his will, and pardon into endless felicity any treason against any other government if committed in the interest of his own. A German king, in the year 1077, was kept standing in January snow, without food, barefooted, and bareheaded,



three days and three nights, at the palace gate of Pope Gregory the Seventh, begging pardon and reconciliation from him whom he had dared to offend in the interest of his own kingdom and subjects. And had not the pope's mistress interfered in his behalf, he must and would have perished there!

But when the state is uppermost the church is all submission, and solemnly sanctifies whatever slavery, war, or other outrage the government decrees, desires, or tolerates. To be assured of this we have not to travel very far into history, nor far away from home.

Matter has evolved up to the present man, and man has reached to what he calls Republicanism in government, and Christianity in religion. And now were man permitted, he would call a halt to all further growth and unfolding, satisfied, in his marvellous blindness, that he has reached the perfection of all possibilities in matter, mind, spirit, individually, and in his institutions of state, school, and church. Indeed, are not church and priesthood constantly calling that halt, and making their benighted disciples believe their order has been obeyed, even when commanding the sun and moon to stand still in their celestial courses? The evangelical church claims that it is yet to rule in the earth by right divine. That is why, in this country, it is seeking to put its God and Christ, trinitarian God and Christ, into the federal constitution, virtually casting man out, and keeping woman out forever. That is why the Bible, already canonized, must be compelled into the public schools until every teacher would be expelled who could not or would not teach it. That is why Sunday legislation is demanded, and lately enforced with so much zeal. That, too, is just what some old Connecticut colonists are said to have contemplated when passing their two memorable resolutions: 1. "Resolved that the earth is to be given to the saints," and, 2. "That we, being saints, do hereby take possession." Then woe to all Indian or any other aboriginal claim! And we know what bloody work was made for the Indian afterwards, whatever might have been true or not true of the two resolutions.

We should never forget that Jew and Christian alike hold heathen and all unbelievers as divinely committed to their charge, to be converted to their faith, or conquered or destroyed. That this was the stern, sacred faith of the ancient Jews, none now deny. That it is no less the Christian faith and hope, expectation and determination, to-day, none need deny. And the very *sincerity* of those engaged in the daring conspiracy against the liberties of our country is our greatest danger. For the church is always just as ready to die as to kill in the service of its religion and God. Christian and Jewish history have been demonstrating this for fully four thousand years!

But Religion and Reason worship at widely different altars.

God, or the Bible in some form, is made authority from which there is no appeal. Pope, Prelate, or Presbytery, it is ever the same. Individual reason, conscience, common sense, are all sacrificed to books, or to priest-hoods as their infallible interpreters.

But reason rejects, in questions of conscience, all human rule, all magic, all miracle, whether derived from tradition, books, or priest-hoods. It doubts, denies all need of them, and sets off alone.

Through long, intense, and profound investigation and reflection, it has discovered a gradual development or unfoldment in creation; an order, harmony, and almost musical march or movement down the revolving ages, under a principle, a power, a force, a God—if that be the better word—linking all past epochs to the one eternal *Now* as we behold it. All matter one; all force one; all motion one; all existence one, as all space and all duration must be one,—one immensity, one eternity, and all their law one, the same yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, and forever, one everlasting NOW.

And that law is, for the present, named *Evolution*, signifying unfolding, unrolling, developing in series, one from or above another in the scale of being. Nor has this sublime procession of creative movement up from chaos been without a well kept journal and registry at every stage. Just as all great nations preserve and transmit their

historic annals, showing their beginning, unfolding, and growth, so our globe has carefully and wonderfully preserved and transmitted its stupendous history, while its human populations were long yet unknown and unborn!

But here under our very feet the huge volume lies, in myriad, myriad pages, written literally on tables of stone, and illustrated with matchless design. All fossiliferous formations are there,—mollusk, fish, reptile, bird, beast, with vegetable, too,—in variety bewildering to behold.

Nor is the mighty book without illumination worthy its sublime subject. Gem and crystal are there, and shining ores bright and beautiful as the glittering stars. All these our restless planet carries, and keeps stored away in deep archives and cloisters, an almighty memorandum for all present and coming time of Nature's travels and transactions, back and along the immeasurable Past!

And earth and man to-day are result, product, flowering out of ages too many to be told. Such is evolution of organic being. In institutions we have come to Republicanism, as we call it, and to Christianity in Religion, and seem to think we can no further go. But we boasted of our "model republic" as a government of, for, and by the people, and the freest, best government under heaven, while one sixth part of our whole population were "goods and chattels," in the hands of "owners and possessors," bred, bought, sold, leased, mortgaged, raffled, gambled, and given away!

On our national banner we had stars and stripes, but *scars* and stripes on the backs of our slaves. An Irish minstrel (was it Thomas Campbell?) sung this to us fifty years ago:

"Your white man's liberty, in types,  
Stands blazoned by your stars;  
But what's the meaning of your stripes?  
They mean your negroes' scars!

We learned something a little better in the days of our visitation and retribution. We of the North named it Rebellion. And yet, not much better, for we are not much nearer a government of the *whole people* than when

one sixth of us were chattel slaves. We have partially, though reluctantly, liberated and enfranchised the black male slave—*man* we now call him; but what of the black woman? Indeed, what of any woman, white woman or black? Is ours a government of the people, with one half, and morally the better half, as all prison records prove, serfs, slaves, by reason of their sex?

Or will any say, Women are not people? Then, what are women? Of what are we men born? Are we sons of something below people? Were our fathers human, or people, and our mothers brutes? Or whom, or what do men marry? Who or what are the mothers of our own children? Are our wives Troglodytes and mothers of Troglodyte daughters, but of human sons, to grow into men and the enslavers of their sisters and the mothers who bore them both? Surely, both sons and daughters are blood of our blood, bone of our bone, brain, too, of our brain! Or who or what nourish and suckle our children? people, human women? or are we like Remus and Romulus, suckled on some she-wolf or other unclean beast? But suppose women are people, part of that boasting "We the people"? Then why are they not citizens, voters? Why not elected as well as electors? As they are not, except in three of all our forty-four states.

The coachman and gardener of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton were at one time both legal voters, along with her husband and five grown up sons! Why is not Mrs. Stanton a voter,—the superior person every way of the whole of them, and that without undervaluing them at all? Women are taxed, imprisoned, fined, even *hanged*, by this government; but women make no laws, are asked to consent to no laws; they are but victims to laws, in making of which they have no vote or voice.

There are laws for woman, as woman, wife, mother, widow, some of them most cruel and unjust; but no woman made them. There are laws of marriage and divorce, and women marry and are divorced—sometimes most diabolically divorced, if not more diabolically married. But women make no marriage or divorce laws; they only suffer them, or suffer from them. There are laws regu-

lating the prices and the hours of labor; and women labor, often many more hours in a day or week than men, and at far less prices, too. Many married women are not paid at all, more than were negro slaves on southern plantations. But women make no *labor* laws, more than marriage laws.

In some cities there are, or have been, laws licensing and regulating houses of prostitution. Women are often driven to those houses by actual starvation. Sometimes mothers of children sell their virtue there to feed and clothe such children. But women enact no laws licensing prostitution, nor so regulating labor and wages as to drive themselves to prostitution or starvation. Under these laws women have to be licensed by authority to enter the terrible calling, but men have to procure no license from lord mayor or governor to visit them. All women thus licensed are registered by name, age, and other particulars; but men who visit them are not registered at the city hall, nor state, nor county court-house.

I once heard the Rev. John Pierpont, of Boston, say, in a great public meeting, that, when he travelled abroad, there were in the city of Hamburg 10,000 licensed prostitutes. And every one of them, before she could procure her license, had to procure certificates of character, and to show that she was regular in attendance at church, and constant at the sacrament. Think you that woman ever enacted a law like that!

And custom, more despotic, if possible, than legislation, compels women to dress and decorate even more expensively than man. Married woman or maiden, there is no appeal. And yet her occupations are not a tenth part so many as man's, nor half so well paid generally, even for the same work. The average hod-carrier is paid twice as much as the average hired woman at many kinds of the hardest work. A seat in church, or lyceum, opera, theatre, entrance to a picture gallery, ride by car, coach, steamer, or in the hearse to her last lodging—the grave—costs woman as much as man!

[The aggregate of woman's wages, as compared with man's, *including civil office-holding*, must be less than as are pence to pounds.



And it is still deemed reproach in woman not to marry. But it would be disgrace in her to propose marriage to the man she loved, even at midnight on the very last day of leap year! And *motherhood outside of marriage* is in woman the sin for which society has no forgiveness in this life, nor in any life. Her seducer may afterwards marry into the first families,—become a congressman, as we have seen and may see again.

Generally, when a wife dies, the property and household affairs remain as before. The husband may, if he choose, marry again in such unseemly haste as that “the funeral baked meats may serve the second marriage table.” But let a husband die, and scarcely is his corpse out of sight before in rush the officers of the law, and if there be debts, even for rum or tobacco, which the wife loathed, there may be attachments, seizures, and executions, until to the widow’s aching heart the death of her husband, much as she might have loved him, was but the beginning of her sorrows.

All this is often seen in this boasted republican, democratic, Christian nation—this government of the people. It is often seen in households where the superior thrift, economy, and virtue of the wife and mother are the whole source and secret of such home comforts as the whole family have enjoyed, the thriftless, perhaps dissipated, father and husband with the rest.

If a beggarly widow’s thirds escape the cormorants of the courts, even these are at the mercy of rapacious tax-assessors, who compel her to say, sometimes *to swear*, just how much she is worth or what her income; and then they levy their taxes upon her, stern and inexorable as a “last judgment.” “Your money or your life,” is the one sole, dread alternative! And had Abby Kelley Foster, of Massachusetts, or the Smith sisters, of Connecticut, had a La Fayette to take arms in their defence as one did by the side of Washington when the battle cry was “*No taxation without representation*,” their own homesteads might long ago have been the Lexington and Bunker Hill of woman’s Revolutionary war!

Nor is man himself more than half free. His institu-

tions enslave him; nor will he, nor should he, be more free, till he emancipates woman. And his deepest disgrace is that he enslaves himself, forges his own chains, commits suicide on his own liberty.

The United States constitution opens with the words, "We, the people of the United States." But for almost a century our Democrats, Republicans, Statesmen, and Christians, presumed that *people* meant males, or men, only; and, indeed, only *white* men at that. The war of the Rebellion taught us a little better. With the blood of hundreds of thousands of brave and young, we washed the word *white* out of the constitution; and *white-washed* the black and mulatto males into equal citizenship. So much for the *color* of our constitution and politics.

But the constitution further reads,—“No religious tests shall ever be required as qualification to any office or public trust.” And yet, in some states, such as would be elected must believe in the Calvinistic, Trinitarian God, a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! In many states only those who thus believe can testify in the courts. A judge lately asked a little girl in lisping childhood, “What will become of you if you swear to what is not true?” “Go to hell, I suppose,” was her ready answer. But let any honest, intelligent person presume to deny the existence of a hell, burning with everlasting fire, as penalty for sin, and he cannot be trusted or believed.

But again, the constitution reads,—“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” But here is a powerful association, officered by many of the most eminent men in the nation, magnates, indeed, in both state and church, whose object is to make the constitution itself an established religion in all that the words can be made to mean. It has taken the good name of “National Reform Association!”

In 1872 its officers included one hundred divines, ninety-eight of whom were Doctors Divine, twenty-six Honorables, and fifteen Doctors of Laws, six or seven judges of the supreme court of the United States or its branches; and Judge Strong of the supreme bench was

for several years president of the association. In 1888 the number and character were about the same, nor has there been material change since.

The preamble to the amended constitution would read thus: "*We, the people of the United States, recognizing Almighty God as the source of all power and authority in civil government, our Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and the Bible as the standard to decide all moral issues in political life, in order to form a Christian government, and in order to form a more perfect union,*" etc., etc. The remainder of the sentence would be as at present.

It might be presumed that a proposal like this would have awakened both alarm and indignation among all intelligent people and lovers of liberty throughout the world, and coming, too, from the very highest authority in state and church! But, instead of this, the plot thickens from year to year. The conspiracy moves on, almost unrebuked, working like gravitation, day and night. Even President Lincoln gave respectful audience to one of its delegations, and, at the close of a long, official address read to him, assured the association that he "heartily approved of its general object and design!"

Why did the church never cite this incident in its zeal to prove Mr. Lincoln a sound orthodox Christian?"

The rapid growth of this revolutionary conspiracy is as wonderful as it should be alarming, and its champions, though chiefly clergymen, believe in work, and are not afraid or ashamed to work. Their power at propagandism seems almost supreme. Evangelical Alliance, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Sunday Rest or Sunday Keeping societies, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are already theirs. The last named is delared to be theirs since its anniversary, in 1889, and many of its membership are already strong in faith and hope that with the aid of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union already secured, the American Woman's Suffrage Association may also be captured. Some of its faithful and far-seeing members, while still loyal to their fellowship with the old suffrage societies, have taken



measures for forming a free and more liberal movement that will not fail to rebuke any attempts against our civil and religious liberties, even under the specious and deceptive name of "The National Reform Association," organized in 1864.

The God and Christ worshipped by these self-styled National reformers, and whose names they would incorporate into the federal constitution, is the triune Divinity of John Calvin and the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and other evangelical churches of Christendom, both Catholic and Protestant. Logically, theologically, and consistently they would, therefore, disfranchise all Jews, Unitarians, Universalists, indeed all of every name who could not or would not subscribe to their faith, just as did the early Puritans, whom they even cite in their own constitution, as "*Christian men, with Christian ends in view, and who gave a distinctly Christian character to the institutions they established.*"

Not meaningless words were these, when these Reformers placed them in their constitution! Not meaningless words would be their *God*, *Christ*, and *Bible*, when incorporated by them into the constitution of these United States! Did they know, and love, and preach the Christ of Mount Calvary, whose kingdom was not of this world, whose followers could not, did not fight, though one did for once rashly draw a sword in his presence and defence, and was rebuked, not commended, for the act,—did they know and follow that Christ and cherish his spirit, then might they record his name over every door-post, and inscribe it on all the bells of their horses, and the world might be blessed by them and their deeds. But they know no such Christ, preach no such gospel as did he. For almost sixteen centuries, Protestant Christianity has run a race with Moses, and with Mahomet, with very little moral or numerical advantage over either. Drunkenness, slavery, and war have ravaged the human race everywhere in spite of them, only in this,—that on drunkenness the influence of Mahomet has been most wholesome of all, and is unto this day.

Still, as has been said, this society is composed of men,

ministers though so many of them be, who believe in work, and are not ashamed of work. They are no slippery, limp backed politicians—all things to all men, everything by turns, and nothing long. True, theirs is a God of war—literal war—and in his name they are marshalled to subvert this Republic, by blood if need be, and in its stead, or on its ruins, to rear the most stupendous *Theocracy* mankind has ever known. Men of brain, blood, and bone, sowing and never doubting that they shall reap as they sow, and that as their faith and work, so shall their harvest be. And they know no such word as FAIL in all their tongues.

And just as ready to die are they as to kill, and to kill as to die. Such are the foes we are to face and to conquer, or be conquered by them! And though Jesus himself spurned all earthly distinctions and honors, positively declaring that His kingdom was not of this world, and that His followers could not fight or smite with the sword, or even with the hand, this strange society seems never to doubt or dream that He stands ready to be elected by the people commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the nation! And to *use* them, too!

And just here is the place to introduce my text to this discourse. It is in the Gospel of John, sixth chapter, fifteenth verse, and eighteenth chapter and thirty-sixth verse:

“When Jesus perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he departed into a mountain alone.” And then the other verse, in answer to Pilate, “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews.”

And this is the Christ whose name these fearful conspirators would insert in our Federal constitution! Tell me, any who hear me, O tell me, was this immaculate One ever so mocked while here on earth?

In that very court of Pilate, we read that he was *mocked* by his persecutors. But to those poor beings, was mockery such as this possible?

But let me hasten on with this terrible theme.

In the year 1877 the National Reform Association held a meeting in Boston. The utterances there, as reported in the newspapers, were worthy the days when Puritans burned negro slaves alive at the base of Bunker Hill, and hanged harmless Quaker men and women on Boston Common, as heretics to the religion then taught in Harvard college, that strewed the floors and the shores of hell with the bones of infants that they declared,

“Right from the womb unto the tomb  
Were straightway carried!”

Dr. Cummings, of the Wesleyan University, said,—

“Some infidels, trusting to the negative character of the Federal constitution, have set up a claim to right of protection in their belief.” “But,” he added, “I emphatically deny any such right.” “No man,” he said, “had any right to be an infidel, nor an infidel any right to protection in the expression of his sentiments; and should he attempt to propagate any ideas tending to subvert society, he should be crushed as a viper.” The Boston *Daily Advertiser* gave substantially the same report, the viper, only, suppressed.

But let me hasten to another instance, not less flagrant, of clerical domination over the people. And the consent so long, so blindly and frequently given compels me just here to stop and say that they are fearfully mistaken who suppose it idle to fear that our government can be perverted into such theocratic despotism as our Christian conspirators intend.

Already God, Christ, and the Bible are practically there. Prayers are in our legislative assemblies and courts. Days of fasting, prayer, and thanksgiving are appointed by the president, and governors of states. Chaplains are appointed for the army and navy, for prisons and asylums. The Bible is already in many of the public schools. The oath is an appeal to God, and sworn sometimes on the Bible, if not, indeed, almost always. The Sunday is protected by legislation, and all our dates are from “Anno Domini,” or “Year of our Lord.”

So much God, Christ, and Bible is in the constitution

already. So much contraband religion is tolerated and supported,—supported by taxes levied on all alike who are taxed at all. Nor is this all, nor the worst, as we shall see.

God is in the constitution, and woman surely is not. God is there to stay, and woman will be kept out long as possible; for the Bible declares that woman was made subject to man, was cursed in Eden as inferior and subject to man, and in the tenth commandment she is certainly scheduled with man's house, ox, and ass, as part and parcel of his property. And to this hour most evangelical clergy practically add their amen and amen to the curse!

And with the triune God by name in the Federal constitution, man must and will be cast out unless he will swear oaths of loyalty to him hitherto unsworn and unknown.

In the year 1850, the church or religious property of the United States was about \$87,500,000. In 1860 it was \$170,000,000. In 1870 the value had reached \$354,483,581, considerably more than doubling in the ten years which included our war of Rebellion and Retribution, and all this stupendous value, with very few, if any, exceptions, exempt from taxation by the government. And that whole amount must be levied on the tax-paying people regardless of religious belief, the disfranchised women taxed equally with the rest. Massachusetts alone exempts more than a hundred million dollars of religious property from taxation, so I lately saw it stated, and her women pay more than one eleventh part of all the taxes of the commonwealth. No wonder she has already six large lunatic asylums crowded with patients, and two great state penitentiaries also full to overflowing, with other penal institutions too many here to name.

For a quarter of a century, church or religious property has about doubled in every ten years. President Grant saw so clearly the danger of such immense accumulations in corporate hands, that he drew national attention to it in his annual message to Congress in the year 1875, in these startling and warning words:

“In connection with this important question, I would call attention to the importance of correcting an evil, that, if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the nineteenth century. It is the acquisition of vast amounts of untaxed church property. In 1850, the church property of the United States, which paid no tax, municipal or state, amounted to \$87,000,000. In 1860 that amount had doubled. In 1870 it was \$354,463,587. By 1900, without a check, it is safe to say this property will reach a sum exceeding \$3,000,000,000. So vast a sum, receiving all the protection and benefits of government, without bearing its proportion of the burdens and expenses of the same, will not be looked upon acquiescently by those who have to pay the taxes. In a growing country, where real estate enhances so rapidly with time as in the United States, there is scarcely a limit to the wealth that may be acquired by corporations, religious or otherwise, if allowed to retain real estate without taxation. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to without taxation may lead to sequestration without constitutional authority and through blood. I would suggest the taxation equally of all property.”

Now double the estimate of President Grant once more for another ten years, or to Anno Domini 1910, and we have \$6,000,000,000, or more than double the cost of our war of Rebellion and Retribution, under the righteous judgment of the moral Universe.

And it would be easy to show from unquestionable authorities, did time permit, that even all these stupendous figures do not reveal nearly all the exemptions and immunities which the church enjoys, has always enjoyed, at the nation's expense.

Had the suggestion of President Grant in 1875 been duly and wisely heeded, it would have doubled the debt of gratitude which the nation acknowledges already his due.

We call ourselves a free people,—and religiously, pre-eminently free. We presume, or we pretend, that the constitution secures to us untrammelled religious liberty, while our Christianity ruthlessly plunders the people of millions on millions of dollars every year for its own exclusive benefit. Nay, rather, we the people plunder ourselves,



*we voters*, we males, dignified by the name of *men*, not the women. We pick our own pockets of all these millions by consenting to this tremendous felony, and framing law and constitution under which it is perpetrated. We forge the chains by which the churches thus drag us triumphantly at their chariot wheels, while they claim, moreover, that they have commission and authority divine to bind us in chains under darkness forever, if we dare despise their creeds or reject their catechisms.

Fifty years ago I began publicly and privately to warn this nation against impending peril as just punishment for the crimes and cruelty of Southern chattel slavery. But no word of mine, no thunder-tone of Garrison, no mellow eloquence from the golden lips of Wendell Phillips, no softer persuasion of woman's heart and woman's voice, availed. The nation, the church, the priesthood, both great political parties, every popular religious denomination, every college and university, and especially every well endowed theological seminary, was committed to slavery, and welcomed slave-holders and slave-breeders to its academic shades and classic halls, its pulpits and sacramental feasts, as well as to every public civil office in the gift of the people.

But the flashing argument of cannon and columbiad, the peal and appeal of millions of musketry, and the blood and groans of hundreds of thousands of dead and dying young men availed at last, and converted us all. Now the people sleep again, though a worse than Southern slave power is even already clutching at the national heart strings.

In 1873, Senator Edmunds of Vermont introduced a change in the constitution to the United States senate so favorable to the designs of the God-in-the-Constitution society that at its very next meeting it adopted, *exultantly* as well as unanimously, this resolution:

*Resolved*, That the amendment to the constitution presented by Senator Edmunds of Vermont affords opportunity to press the claims of this association, and will *secure* such amendments to the constitution as will settle forever its Christian character.

A few Democratic votes sufficed to defeat the conspiracy: but how many of you know, then or since, that you were paying congress for such legislation.

Saints seem to presume that sinners have no rights which the redeemed are bound to respect. Many clergymen take for granted that *nobody* has any rights which they are bound to respect; and between church and clergy the whole world is doomed to be converted to their creeds and catechisms, or conquered and destroyed like the Canaanites of old. Who have ears to hear, let them hear!

It is time both church and clergy learned new lessons. Their power and prerogative have lasted too long. Plaintiff they have been, and judge and jury too, and their high claim has been allowed. Let the people now become plaintiff, and place them at the bar.

The church is ever willing mistress to the state when needing the power of the state for its own selfish ends, and sanctifies whatever war, slavery, or other crime the state would perpetrate. Even the terrible African slave-trade on the high seas was no exception. That trade abolished, the domestic was continued for more than half a century with constantly accumulating horrors and abominations! Both priest and politician approved. One declared it constitutional, the other Christian.

And now under similar leadership the people are enslaving themselves. We were told ten thousand times the negroes did not know enough to be free. To-day we see the white race do not know too much to be slaves. Many, perhaps most of us, seem not to care or know what plots, what conspiracies, are deliberately enacted to enslave us. Monopoly in church and state government and religion, is rapidly becoming one; and capital, wealth *enmassed*, will hold supreme control.

The state courts the church for the sake of votes; the church is willing mistress to the state when she wants indulgences like Sunday legislation, chaplaincies, her Bible in public schools, her God in the constitution, and the non-taxation of her churches and other religious property. In such mills the people are grinding themselves to powder, in the name of the *sorcery* we call *legislation*, for the sake of religion and God.

See, too, how audaciously our non-church taxation laws are construed. I have heard of men who bought valuable city lands and reared on them cheap little shanty churches, which, by the solemn mockery of a dedication, could be exempt from the tax-gatherer or assessor, and then holding the church, lands, and all, till the growth of the city and rise of real estate enabled them to realize fortunes on the original meagre investment. I know a church or an exempted building in Boston which cost \$80,000, that perhaps could not be bought now for double that money. When the walls were up and roofed in, a lecture-room was temporarily finished, and then furnished with rude seats and benches so that a single service could be held, which was called a dedication. That service was to keep away, not the devil and his angels, but the government and its tax assessors, and it has had the desired effect to the present hour.

And I know another immense building in that same Christian Boston, appraised at \$600,000, and known to mankind as Tremont Temple, which for many years remained unpolluted by touch or tread of taxation in any form. Since 1873, by strenuous exertion by the friends of a purer justice and equality than the religion of that building ever taught, it has been taxed for \$100,000, only one sixth of its appraised, perhaps not more than *one tenth* of its actual, value. It may to-day be more justly taxed. The church proper seats not far from two thousand persons. But above, beneath, and about it is a vast realm of most valuable space, including elegant, large, and commodious stores, with many offices, studios, dormitories, and another auditorium down in the crypt, which is in almost constant demand, and at good prices, for lectures, conventions, and assemblies of every reputable description and name. And the very *Sanctum Sanctorum* itself can be had on any *secular* day or evening, for any decent literary, political, or other purpose, by any respectable party or person able and willing to pay its exorbitant prices.

On that ever memorable day when the immortal John Brown was hanged by the government and the religion of



this country because he dared, like another General LaFayette, to attempt the liberation of our then oppressed Southern slaves, the abolitionists hired that Tremont Temple to celebrate with suitable services that most desperate deed ever done in the name of government since the tragedy enacted on Mount Calvary almost two thousand years ago! That meeting was broken up, utterly routed, by a mob as atrocious and diabolical as ever disgraced the annals of mankind. And we were tauntingly told afterwards, that the whole temple would have been piled up in ruins, *only that the city would have been held responsible for all damage and loss!*

Our Christian temples cost from \$500 to \$5,000,000 each, and so far, almost all of them, with other religious real estate, escape the heavy burdens of taxation, as the humble homes of widows and orphans do not. Some of them are every year devoured by tax-gatherers in every city and large town in the land. Town, county, state, and nation must annually take their terrible toll of all available *taxable* property from rich and poor, from men and women alike. But the lands and houses stamped by Christian signet, millions and millions in cash amount, are billeted, *toll free, fare free*, or tax free, all down the ages, under monstrous pretence that they belong to God!

But the hour of the people comes at last. It may wait long, but come it must. It came in France a hundred years ago. Let the nations—let this nation—remember it well. It knows not yet the meaning of that dread catastrophe; if it did, it would not so soon be entering on a return to *slavery*, that crowning curse and crime of which the bloody civil war was but just retribution to North and South alike.

We never emancipated the slaves through justice or mercy. At the beginning of the war the secretary of state wrote to our foreign ministers that order and peace would be restored in ninety days, without changing the civil or political status of one single human being! And months after that, and after some bloody battles, too, the president published to the wide world that he would save the Union if possible without liberating a single slave!

Nor did he reverse that horrible decision till hundreds of thousands of the bravest soldiers who ever bled on battle-fields, from North and South, wrinkled the earth's fair face with their untimely graves.

Oh, no! it was to save ourselves that we liberated and then armed, as a forlorn hope, a hundred thousand slaves. Without them all must have been lost. By their blood and valor our nationality was saved. We went into the conflict sure that we could subdue it with a half million men, and not emancipate a single slave. After the terrible defeat and disgrace of Bull Run, President Lincoln declared in an open letter to the *New York Tribune* that he would still so save the Union if it could be done. But he was glad at last, the whole North was glad, to free every slave, and accept national salvation at their hands and at the price of their blood!

To-day the former slaves are not half emancipated, and the white people are half enslaved. And the two dominant political parties are pledged to the church, Catholic and Protestant, and are apparently willing to continue our chains. And woman is not half so free as man. White women are not half so free as even black men.

If "taxation without representation be tyranny," as held our Revolutionary fathers, then are we men who make constitutions and laws, with some exceptions, tyrants, as were George the Third, Lord North, and the British Parliament. And so we deserve to be slaves with our victims. And those women who say they do not want to vote are the Tories or the cowards of woman's Revolution. They may be as blindly innocent as were their predecessors in 1776. Thomas Jefferson writing the Declaration of Independence, George Washington drawing his sword invincible in its behalf, and Patrick Henry exclaiming "Give me liberty or give me death," were every one more free, less enslaved, than is the wife of the president of the United States to-day. Were our law-makers, whatever their party name, such vassals to any foreign power as their wives, sisters, mothers are to them, they would wage a warfare to be free, though it should deluge both hemispheres in human blood!

And human blood may yet be the price of woman's emancipation, as it was of the slaves ; yea, and of ours, too, from the dominating despotism of a merciless church, and a ruthless, remorseless priesthood. And blood will continue to be lawful tender for liberty till tyrants temporal and despots spiritual shall learn and know that God made the human soul volcanic, and woe ever to him or them who dare uncap her fires !









